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167 either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

[472] It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

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167 If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

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167 Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

[578]
[595]
[837]
[434] While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

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167 Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

marriages!

+584 Aside from the reports of many villagers that such
+597 are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that
+593 there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have
• 837 made a sīm-pūa marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages
831 are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people
who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to
marry a sīm-pūa arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with
their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married
his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in
some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors,
"He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have
fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of
male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little
time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve
years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a
short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a
night at home."

837 As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital
548 relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou.

Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and
every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From
the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as
+583 frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here
837 is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these oppor-
tunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage
he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record
^ [i.e., sīm-pūa marriages -- Analyst]

*583 all village gossip and other information which would allow us to
• 837 estimate in a rough way the frequency with which the men in our genealogies had sought extra-marital sexual relations. The striking conclusion from these data is that men who had made sīm-pūa marriages were more likely to engage in frequent extra-marital affairs than men who had married matrilocally or in the preferred way. Whereas we have evidence of frequent extra-marital relations for 14 (15 percent) of the 96 men who made either preferred or matrilocal marriages, we find a high frequency of infidelity among 11 (48 percent) of the 23 men who were forced to make a sīm-pūa marriage. While these data are certainly not entirely accurate, for the obvious reason, there is no reason to believe that there is a bias inflating the count for men who married sīm-pūa. There is no stereotype of the husband in the sīm-pūa form of marriage which might elicit biased responses, and we were unaware of the relevance of our data at the time they were being collected.

*583 What is perhaps more significant than this tendency for men who
*593 marry sīm-pūa to seek sexual satisfaction elsewhere is that this
837 often involves their avoiding sexual relations with their wives. Most men who have established a relationship with another woman visit her occasionally as they have the inclination, but men who are married to a sīm-pūa typically spend all of their nights with their mistresses, avoiding sexual relations with their wives several years at a time. If the man's parental family is a farming family, and if he is needed to help with the work in the fields, he will usually return home during the day to work with his father, eating his meals and otherwise

*583 participating in the family on a daily basis. If he is a coal miner
*593 or laborer whose job is in another town or in the mountains, he may
• 837 spend several weeks at a time away from the village, living almost
exclusively with his mistress but sending money home to help support
his parents. A case typical of such arrangements is that described
by a forty year old woman whose husband and former brother has spent
most of the twenty years of their married life living with another
woman.

"We were married when I was eighteen years old, but
my husband didn't live here very long after we were married.
When my daughter was about four years old and my son about
three, my husband went away to live with another woman. I
thought of going back to my natal home, but then I thought
that these things are all decided by fortune. Also, I was
very fond of my foster mother, and she took care of the
children while I went to work gathering rocks to help
support the family. That first woman my husband lived
with has been dead now for about ten years, but before she
died they adopted two daughters. (One of these girls is
now married to the informant's son.) Now my husband is
living in Nankang with another woman, but they have no
children of their own, only one adopted daughter. Most of
the year my husband works in a coal mine, but during the
harvest season he goes from farm to farm buying rice
stalks which he sells to a factory in Shihlin. He makes
about NT\$900 a month, and sends about NT\$200 or NT\$300
home. He didn't use to send any money home at all except
when he had a very good job or when he was in a good mood,
but now he sends some money almost every month."

If your mother liked you so well, why did she let her son go
out and live with another woman?

"Oh, he is her only son and so she didn't like to
reprimand him. Besides he wouldn't listen to her anyway."

*583 Men who marry matrilocally or in the preferred way also occasionally
337 take a mistress, and this sometimes leads to similar separations.

What leads us to argue that the conditions of the si-m-pu marriage

⁵⁸³ produce a definite sexual aversion is that such separations are much
• 837 more common among men who have married sim-poh than among men who
married in other ways. Of those 113 men whose life histories we know
in some detail at least 13 spent two or more years of their married
lives living away from their parental home with a woman other than
their wife. These 13 men included 3 (4 percent) of 70 men who had
married in the preferred way, 2 (8 percent) of the 26 men who had
married matrilocally and 8 (35 percent) of 23 men who married a sim-
poh. There thus appears to be a striking difference between the
sexual behavior of those men whose association with their wives began
in childhood and those who did not come into contact with their wives
until adulthood.

⁵⁶² While it is expected that men who can afford to will upon occasion
837 visit prostitutes or professional wine house girls, it is strictly
forbidden for a married woman to engage in any kind of extra-marital
[548] relations. A young unmarried woman whose family is poor and does not
have sons to depend upon may work as a prostitute without arousing
unfavorable public opinion, but for a married woman to form any kind
of liaison is generally regarded as a serious breach of morality. The
not very surprising result is that extra-marital relations are much
⁵⁸³ more common among men than among women. What is somewhat more inter-
⁸³⁷ esting is that the majority of those women who do commit adultery are
⁵⁶² women who have been forced to marry a foster brother. We do not know
of a single case of adultery among women who married in the pre-
ferred way, and the only cases among women who married matrilocally

*583 involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pūa. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pūa did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple in flagrante delicto in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

*583 It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pūa form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pūa marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pūa marriage have always

*121 the sim-pua marriage dropped sharply. While more than a third of all
*583 marriages made in the years before 1930 were of this variety, there have
*593 only been two such marriages in the years after 1930. Since this change
198 was a direct consequence of the younger generation's dislike of the
182 sim-pua form of marriage, we can say that the causes of their distaste
are also among the determinants of the present social structure of
Hsiachichou. A higher frequency of sim-pua marriages in the village in
the preceding thirty years would have meant weaker affinal ties for
many families, a more harmonious relationship between mother-in-law
and daughter-in-law, a less satisfactory husband-wife relationship, and
probably a much higher frequency of extra-marital relations. By re-
fusing to marry their foster siblings the younger generations of the
village brought about a sharp change in both the internal and external
relations of their community. Why then did the younger generations of
the family reject the sim-pua form of marriage? In our earlier dis-
cussion we considered two possible explanations. As Edward Westermarck's
view of the incest taboo suggests, it may be that the intimacy which
obtains between foster siblings results in their having an aversion to
sexual relations; or it may be that the social identification of foster
siblings as "brother" and "sister" provides the basis for an inadvertent
generalization of the incest taboo. We cannot decide between the two
hypotheses on the basis of these data alone, since the two crucial vari-
ables are confounded. The parties to a sim-pua marriage always grow up
in intimate association, and they are also always identified as "brother"
and "sister." There are, however, other data which indicate that the

Lim Hue-lieng: An Eldest Son

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As a point of fact, Lim Hue-lieng's marriage had little effect on his daily life. He did not live in the family home and took no interest in their daily activities. The marriage did, however, add one more chapter in the growing legend of his great personal power. He became the hero of one of the most popular village tales of sexual prowess. It was his boast and the favorite story of his admirers that he spent only two nights in Lim A-pou's bed: on his wedding night he gave her Lim A-bok, and some years later when a typhoon forced him to spend the night in the village, he gave her Masa. The rest of his nights were spent with a series of mistresses of whom even the most salacious village gossips have long since lost track. Finally, when his first-born son was about two years old, Lim Hue-lieng settled down more or less permanently with a village girl, Lim So-lan, the adopted daughter of another Lim family.

Because my assistant came to know Lim So-lan well during our stay in the village, So-lan was willing to tell us quite a bit about her life as Lim Hue-lieng's "second wife": "He only lived with his first wife for a few days just after they were married. After that he never stayed home at night. Before he began to live with me, he had a great many women, but he always left them after a little while because they were just interested in making money and would sleep with other men. When he first came to live with me, I was only seventeen years old. He had just returned from hiding from the police for a few months and had also just broken off with the last woman because she slept with someone else while he was away. His eldest son was about two years old then. He was a good friend of my foster mother, and often joked with her about me, telling her that he wanted to come and live with me. I was working in the river then, gathering rocks, and saw him there every day because he was the head of all of the people doing that kind of work. At that time my family was very poor because my father gambled too much. That year he gave us money to help us through New Year's. My mother was always urging me to marry him. I told her that he was a *lo mua* who had had a lot of girlfriends and would beat me if I did anything he didn't like. I was very afraid of him and ran away every time I saw him. When my mother said that she wanted me to marry him, I cried every night, but my mother knew that he made a lot of money and would help our family, and so finally she asked him to come and live in our house. He lived with our family for five or six years.

* 159 "He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with
• 837 us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my
595 father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first
year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us
because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my
grandmother all died, and he paid for all their funerals. The second
year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't
been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long
because not long after she was born he began to go out with other
women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out
he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him
and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came
back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange
that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou],
but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for
my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give
my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived
in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well be-
cause he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special
occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many
friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

* 596 "He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was
• 159 the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work
463 until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work.
He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back
to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved
them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers.
He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work
because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

* 596 For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far
• 159 in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time
and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his
career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than
usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-
lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because
for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of
his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision
was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

and scold someone else who is trying to help?' This was just too much. Without even finishing my rice, I grabbed the baby away from A-hua and took him into the bedroom, spanked him, and threw him on the bed. And then I came back and said to all of them, 'You are all just hoping I will leave so I'm going to go away and make you happy. I'm going to go kill myself, and then the nail will be out of your eyes. Then I won't give any of you any more trouble.' I ran out of the house and I heard my grandmother screaming, 'Stop her. Stop her.' My husband came running out after me, but I really ran fast and was all the way down to the big road before he caught me. I was planning to jump in front of a big truck, or if one didn't come by I was going to go on down to the train tracks. I'm just sorry that I didn't think to hit him with my clogs when he caught me."

This was Gioq-ki still uncowed, still the arrogant, undisciplined daughter of Lim Hue-lieng, but the following spring Gioq-ki learned some things about her husband that destroyed her confidence. Most of my information about this came from Gioq-ki's neighbors and in particular from a young woman only a few years younger than Gioq-ki. "Well, she found out that her husband had a girlfriend, and I guess it is my fault she found out, at least about this one. I went to visit a relative who had moved to another town, a girl about my age. When I arrived, who should be leaving but Chang Jong-kuei. I asked the girl how he happened to be there, and she said he was her lover. She showed me all the love letters he had written her and they are really love letters! I feel very sorry for this girl. A few years ago she had a mainland boyfriend who offered to take her to be introduced for a job. Instead, he tricked her into going to a hotel. Because of this she ended up living with him. She wants to be free of him, but he says he will kill her first. So, she has lots of boyfriends instead. She told me that she doesn't like any of them, including Chang Jong-kuei, but she wants the money so she can run away. She didn't know Chang was Gioq-ki's husband. She knows Gioq-ki from school and felt very bad when I told her. She said that Chang told her he wasn't married and had just graduated from college. She said she would never have been his 'friend' if she had known about Gioq-ki."

Gioq-ki's young neighbor was indignant. Extra-marital affairs are not particularly unusual for men with good incomes, but in a marriage classified as a "love match" and arranged by the young people themselves, much more fidelity is expected. Though more

†159 sophisticated than most village girls, my informant shares their view
• 837 —such things don't happen to the daughter of Lim Hue-lieng. Naturally, she came home and reported the whole story to her mother. It was also written in Gioq-ki's "fate" that she sit in the sun under her neighbor's window that afternoon, knitting. Gioq-ki burst into her neighbor's house and demanded the whole story which, though understandably reticent, the girl and her mother were forced to relate. They warned her repeatedly to ignore the affair "because he brings home your income and you should be careful that it keeps coming. Forget about him, but don't throw away his money." Gioq-ki, of course, ignored them and confronted her husband with his philandering the minute he came home.

The village spent half the night listening to their quarrel. The girl next door told me, "My relative really feels bad about all this. She said, 'What is wrong with Gioq-ki? She is a very smart girl. Why did she marry this mainlander? If I were like her, I would leave him immediately.' I think she is right. I would rather not have any husband at all than one like this. She isn't his only girl friend, either. He has lots of women. Someone from the village saw him in a train station with another woman, too. That is why he doesn't bring all of his salary home."

†159 The girl's mother, a retired wine house girl, added: "It is best
* 593 not to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife and particu-
837 larly this one because Gioq-ki is very much in love with her husband—even though she denies it. But she didn't know anything about all these women. She is really very poor, and he never gives her enough money. I know what his job is, and I know he can make at least
[434] NT\$1800, but he never gives her more than NT\$300. Her uncle told her she must go to Taipei on his next pay day and collect his salary before he does. She is going to do this and that will take care of it. No money, no girlfriends."

Chang Jong-kuei didn't return to the village for several days. Gioq-ki followed her relatives' advice and went to collect his pay at the newspaper office. Since Chang often does night work at the newspaper, he has a small sleeping room in the building. Gioq-ki decided to leave the older children in this room so that he would have to return to the village to bring them home. Her plan did not succeed. She met her husband on the street and there was a scene that ended with the crying children being pushed back and forth between them.

Gioq-ki was further humiliated. Chang did not return that night either. I heard a pathetic exchange the next day between Gioq-ki and her favorite aunt. 159* 837

The aunt: "Don't you worry about whether he comes home or not. You know when he gets paid so you can just go get the money each month."

Gioq-ki: "Yes, I'll go for his money and if he won't give it to me, I'll leave him the children to take care of. I don't care anymore. But I'm sure he will come back tonight because tomorrow is our eldest son's birthday."

The aunt: "Why do you think he will come back for that?"

Gioq-ki: "Well, he was asking me last week before all this started what day it was. . . ."

Chang did not return for his son's birthday. A few days later, I asked another of Gioq-ki's relatives what the latest news was. She told me, "I haven't been out much because I have a cold so I don't know how Gioq-ki is feeling now about these things. Everyone is talking about them, but no one saw the whole thing or knows whether all of these things are true or not."

"When you look at Chang Jong-kuei, he seems like a man with a good enough temper, but when he gets mad he is really enough to scare anyone. Gioq-ki's temper is just as bad. Her nature is just like her father's—no matter what it is, she has to be the head."

"As soon as a man has a family and his wife isn't there, this kind of thing happens. Gioq-ki has only a small family so why doesn't she move to Taipei and live with him there. He works in Taipei and of course he is tired and sometimes doesn't want to come all the way out to the village. If she really believes all the things people here are saying, and I'm not sure I do, she ought to move to Taipei and see if it is really true or not."

When I left the village a few months later, Gioq-ki had not yet followed her relative's advice, but Chang had returned and seemed to be around more often in the evenings. What has happened since, I have no way of knowing.

The reaction of the women in the main Lim family to Gioq-ki's troubles was that of sympathy, which surprised me somewhat, and non-involvement, which I expected. The men, of course, publicly ignored the situation. Even Lim Chieng-cua's wife, notoriously lacking in sympathy for anyone but herself, felt sorry for Gioq-ki. Lim A- 159* 152 837

The House of Lim

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Lim A-

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• 837
595 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

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*596
595 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, borrowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

Lim A-pou: A Wife and a Sister

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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lan when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ang, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

*159 was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a
*596 husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry
*593 and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have
604 been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and
577 be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-
jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was
home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad
• [837] so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother,
*159 Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My
*596 mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know
*593 I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to
604 buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I
578 was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child
882 now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he
883 asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT\$5. What can you do
461 with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come
[874] and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to
go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to
go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him
into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he
looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working
all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he
stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I
tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't
like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My
grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work,
and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't
want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me
working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run
a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of
his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are
different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the com-
panies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people
like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

*159 "But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a school-
*593 boy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got
*596 home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what
578 field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

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NARROW HEARTS



*159 According to Lim Chui-ieng, all of her unhappiness stems from some-
*596 one's ill use of her. In adult life that someone has been Lim Chieng-
*593 cua. Chui-ieng has chosen to focus on her husband's mistresses as the
581 source of most of her troubles. Romantic love is considered irrelevant
• 837 to marriage in China; and Chui-ieng had not even met her husband
before her marriage, let alone seen enough of him to love him. None-
theless, she felt insulted and threatened by the extra-marital activities
he engaged in from the early years of their union. Her childhood,
unusual for an adopted daughter, had not taught her the rewards of
submission or the pretense of submission, but had accustomed her to
being the center of large and small storms, many of them brought on
by her displays of temper. In the Lim family tempers were a speciality
and Chui-ieng's little displays caused only looks of disapproval. She
had expected trouble in her new home, indeed her parents had warned
her repeatedly that she would have to mend her ways when she mar-
ried, but she had not expected to be ignored. I don't think it had ever
occurred to her that she might not be able to control her husband as
easily as she had controlled her foster parents.

*159 Chui-ieng's failure made her frantic, but she was helpless. She
*596 could mask her despair with scorn, but the only reasonable criticism
*593 she could make of her husband was that the money he spent on mis-
837 treasures would ruin the family. "It is not because my heart is narrow that
I argue with my husband. It is because I want to save my family. If he
spends all the money on girlfriends, what are my children to do? We
aren't like Lim A-pou and her sons who only eat the rice in the middle
of the pan [i.e. don't have to worry where it is coming from]. When
my children's father has a girlfriend he takes her to movies and to
restaurants, gambling and buying wine. They take friends along too,

Narrow Hearts

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but he is the one who pays. And I? I have to ask for money like a beggar."

Lim Chieng-cua's neighbors look upon his affairs as quite natural to a man of his position and income. A wife's function is to bear children, raise them, and care for their home. Only the recent incursions of Western romanticism have encouraged the younger generations to look for something more in the marital relationship. Men who can afford it have always sought companionship outside their homes. If a man cannot afford these pleasures but takes them anyway, he is frowned upon by his neighbors and relatives—not for the injury he does his wife (for indeed there is no injury if he provides her and her children with a home and food), but for the injury to his ancestors and descendants whose property it is that he squanders.

According to his neighbors, Lim Chieng-cua chose his entertainment with moderation and in accordance with his income. A well-respected widow in the village who had been a good friend of Lim Chieng-cua's parents told me, "Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have gradually begun to get along better since his father died and left him to manage everything alone. Before then Chieng-cua had more time and so he always had a mistress. He could make a lot of money and so naturally he had girlfriends. His wife was always following him, trying to catch him with some woman. Whenever he went out, she would sneak along behind and then come back and tell his parents. When he came home, Lim Chieng-cua would politely say he had been to such and such a place on business, and then his wife would jump in and say exactly where he had been, with all the times and people listed. She embarrassed the old father and this made Chieng-cua mad. They quarreled every day. Lim Han-ci always told her, 'Let him alone. Don't always argue with him and you won't get beaten.'"

Because of their status in Peihotien, everything the Lims do, from the way they arrange their family altar to Lim Chieng-cua's business dealings, is of interest to their neighbors. Few people have the courage to openly question Lim Han-ci, Lim Chieng-cua, or, for that matter, even Lim A-pou about the activities of their household, but Lim Chui-ting's recurrent indiscretions provide the village with much to discuss. She is too proud to have a confidante in the village or even a friend, but her pride did not prevent her from tracking her husband and quarreling with him in public. One might expect Lim Chieng-cua's less affluent neighbors to feel a certain amount of jealousy,

159 but the stories they told me of his extra-marital activities are curiously
* 58 loyal—vindictive only when they touch upon the behavior of his wife,
* 59 the outsider. Chui-ieng's life is almost as bitter as she describes it, but
• 839 the villagers believe she brought it on herself.

When we came to live with the family, Lim Chieng-cua had not kept a mistress for some time. Chui-ieng occasionally nagged her husband about past infidelities, but in general, relations between them were tranquil. Lim Chieng-cua's most recent affair, and the one which still seemed to worry his wife, was his liaison with Lau Kim-chiok, the adopted daughter of one of his neighbors. Lim A-pou told me, "A few years ago Lim Chieng-cua had a mistress here in the village. She was a prostitute who was living just then with a man who worked nights in the winery. I know she wasn't married to this man because I saw her police book and his name wasn't in it.

"Both Lim Chieng-cua and his wife have hot tempers and they have quarreled from the day they married. She would never just accept his having a mistress or try to find some peaceful means of getting him to stay home at night. Instead, she used to go to the woman's house at night and beat on the doors and make a lot of noise. One night she even broke a window in the house. This really made my brother mad. She ran home and hid in my room. My father was still alive then, but that night he was disgusted and said he wouldn't interfere any more. Lim Chieng-cua tried to break down the door of the room to get at his wife, and I'm sure he would have killed her if my son hadn't pulled him away and calmed things down.

"Then in the middle of the night he had to go and find a workman to repair the window in that woman's house so the man she was living with wouldn't find out what was going on.

[689] "Not long after this both the man and woman got put into jail for using narcotics. His sentence was a very long one because he had quarreled with some powerful *lo mua* before he got caught. She was given a sentence of three and a half years. She should be getting out soon now."

When Lau Kim-chiok was released, she returned to her mother's home in the village. Friends and neighbors came to see her, both to welcome her home and out of curiosity. Lim Chieng-cua who was in Taipei on business didn't return to the village until late in the evening, but when he did, he also went to pay his respects to his former mistress. According to my interpreter, who was also there, he was

simply another well-wisher. Needless to say, his wife did not accept his visit as a casual courtesy. Before long she too turned up at Lau Kim-chiok's party in search of her husband. He ordered her to leave and she did, but when he returned home hard words were exchanged.

My interpreter heard Chui-ieng crying in our kitchen and while trying to calm her, listened to her expressions of misery. "That stinking prostitute is home. She never lets my family live in peace. He [Lim Chieng-cua] went to see her the minute he heard she was back. He couldn't even wait for one night. That Hakka woman! [Lau Kim-chiok] may have been adopted from Hakka parents, but the Taiwanese often use this as an insulting curse, the assumption being that Hakka are bad-hearted and generally low in morality]. She is most able to tempt people. She is full of sweet talk and honey. And he always listens to her temptings! The mosquito net was already set up when I got there and I'm sure he was about to get in bed with her. He hits me because of her and that is what has made me so sickly. I wasn't that way before."

"You don't know how fierce that prostitute is. How thick the skin on her face is! [i.e., you can't insult her.] Even worse, the family in the next lane are her allies. Before she went to jail, if my husband spent an evening at home, that prostitute would send them to come and call him out. Then five or six of them would go to see a play or eat and drink and my husband would pay for it all. This is a good chance for them now that she is back. They will be sure to come calling him out now just like before."

Lim A-pou made little effort to hide her amusement at her sister-in-law's predicament and at her behavior. "That woman's heart is too narrow. She should wait for awhile and see if they go back together again. Then she can go cause trouble if she wants to. Yesterday was her first day back and lots of people went to see her. Why doesn't Chui-ieng think before she runs out scolding. No wonder everybody knows all about it. I was already asleep last night so I didn't know anything about their fight, but early this morning it was all over the village. A long time ago I said that as soon as Lau Kim-chiok came back we'd have a good play to see. It was true. And on the first day!"

During the next few days I noticed some very peculiar behavior on the part of Lim Chieng-cua's older children. Usually they were out of the house most of the day, coming in for meals or snacks or to pick up a ball. Now they seemed to be in and out of the house constantly,

*159 holding whispered conferences with their mother and then disappear-
*596 ing again. And one evening when Lim Chieng-cua didn't return at his
*593 usual time for dinner, Kui-hok asked, with tears running down his
• 837 face, "Where is father? Has he gone away?" Chui-ieng was using her
children to spy on their father. She had told them that he might run
away with another woman and if he did they would be abandoned to
starve. Chui-ieng knew perfectly well that her husband would do nothing
so absurd, but by convincing his children of the possibility she
could both strengthen their ties to herself and keep a watchful eye on
her husband.

*159 Early in her career Lau Kim-chiok, like most prostitutes,
*596 adopted a daughter to support her when she was no longer pretty
*593 enough to work. During Kim-chiok's imprisonment, the daughter
*598 stayed with various relatives and finally came to live with her maternal
grandmother in Peihotien. With the hope of at least delaying her
entrance into her mother's profession, Lim Chieng-cua gave the girl a
job in his factory. Lau Bit had been working there for quite some time
when her mother returned to the village. Two or three weeks after
Lau Kim-chiok's release from prison, Lau Bit was visited in the factory
by Le-cu, Lim Chieng-cua's eldest daughter. By this time the anxiety
Chui-ieng had aroused in her children was beginning to fade and their
spying had become a game. Le-cu, finding her father absent from the
factory, tried to pick a quarrel with Kim-chiok's daughter. Lau Bit
was several years older than Le-cu and much more conscious of the
seriousness of life. Le-cu taunted her about her mother's profession,
curled her on general principles, and ordered her out of the factory.
Lau Bit left in tears, humiliated before the other factory girls who
watched round-eyed and fearful. Le-cu then went home to brag to her
mother of her clever deed. Chui-ieng was amused and cruelly pleased
by the story, but at the same time she realized that this was going to
cause no end of trouble. She immediately sent her daughter off to stay
with relatives in Lungyen. Her precautions were justified. When Lim
Chieng-cua returned to the factory and heard what had occurred in
his absence, he was furious. He went to his wife to ask his daughter's
whereabouts, telling her explicitly that he intended to beat the girl to
death when he found her. Chui-ieng told him calmly enough that she
had sent the girl to stay with relatives, but she could not refrain from
defending her child's indefensible behavior. One thing led to another
and Chui-ieng soon turned to her usual tirade against Lau Kim-chiok
and her family, accusing Lim Chieng-cua of treating "a prostitute's

584 However, four promiscuous women do reside in Sanlei and
581 villagers consider one insatiable. Of these four women,
• 837 two were formerly siaosiv. This frequency is highly significant by sign although the "n" is too small for adequate testing. Among siaosiv, there is a high proportion of quite unhappy marriages and one childless marriage, the only childless marriage of ten years or more in which the wife was under 25 at marriage and in which the couple still refuses to adopt a child.

584 Everyone in the village argues why a siaosiv marriage
183 is a good idea for someone else. Their reasons emphasize both the economies to be realized and the positiveness of good relations between mother and daughter-in-law which must have been present if the match had been proposed. The reasons given for not personally desiring this kind of marriage was always either, "I would be too embarrassed," or, "It would not be interesting" (see Glossary C). It is significant that no man or woman in the village would prefer a siaosiv marriage.

198 The last siaosiv marriage in Sanlei Ts'un was in
984 1939 and since that date, three girls who had been adopted into the village as future mates married out in the regular fashion. As far as I could tell, only one of these was after an argument (a "love marriage" to a boy from T'oulei) while the adopted fathers of the other two claimed that they married the girls out because siaosiv marriage now

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[812] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position
is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while
physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

- 837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to
satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the
village who have assignations regularly with other village
men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insati-
able. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter
woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married
man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times
and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight.
Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain
fields and almost never in a village house.

839 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses⁴ in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism
directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is
considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls
who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and
festivals but do not practice their trade in the village.
They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li
affairs.

- 842 Old methods of birth control included the use of
herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men